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the son of the Norman adventurer, who had gone to Italy in quest of adventures wherein to display his valor, was raised to the rank of sovereign of one of the finest and richest kingdoms in Europe. He was succeeded by his son William, who from his vices was called the Bad. Then his grandson ascended the throne, and in contradistinction to the first William, received the title of the Good. This prince was the last of the legitimate male descendants of Tancred of Hauteville; and at his death, Constantia, his aunt, who had married the Emperor Henry VI., son of Frederic Barbarossa, claimed the throne for her husband. Henry himself crossed the Alps to maintain his rights, and after a brief struggle with Tancred, the illegitimate grandson of Roger II., the throne of Sicily passed from the family of Hauteville to that of Hohenstauffen in the year 1204.

ART. III. — *Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic.*

By Col. J. ANTHONY KING, an Officer in the Army of the Republic. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 8vo. pp. 324.

THE copious title-page of Colonel King's, or rather of Mr. Whitney's, book would lead one to expect from it a full and satisfactory answer to all the inquiries he might make respecting the provinces on the river Plata. It purports to be a "narrative of a residence during twenty-four years in the Argentine Republic, embracing its civil and military history, and an account of its political condition before and during the administration of Governor Rosas, his course of policy, the causes and character of his interference with the government of Montevideo, and the circumstances which led to the interposition of England and France." These bountiful promises introduce nothing more than a disjointed detail of events from the pen of Mr. Whitney, whose office, it appears, has been to work up, from a verbal outline of facts given by Colonel King, a readable and salable narrative of this adventurer's stirring life.

The hero figures, first, as a runaway cabin-boy from New

York ; next, as shop-boy to a French perfumer in Buenos Ayres ; and finally, after enduring hardships, ingratitude, imprisonment, every thing but death, he fights his way from the lowest official grade in the Argentine service up to the rank of colonel, serves in the liberating army of Peru, and returns to Buenos Ayres, to find at last a recompense for all his sufferings in the personal and solid charms of a wealthy lady of the country. Scattered through the book are several spirited descriptions, and here and there is to be gleaned some useful information ; but as a whole, it lacks coherency and clearness, and the story is clogged with tedious dialogues and pathetic tales, which, with the almost entire neglect of dates, give it the air of a romance rather than a narrative of facts. But it is not our purpose to review Colonel King's book. It evidently comes from a man better able to wield the sword than the pen ; whose means of acquiring information were not extensive ; whose memory has been his chief reliance for his facts ; and whose position so closely identifies him with one of the contending parties of the country, that he can hardly be taken as an impartial narrator of events or delineator of character.

Desirous of obtaining definite and trustworthy information respecting the history, resources, and political condition of the Argentine Republic, and disappointed in the hope of gaining it from this book, we have endeavored, from all sources within our reach, to collect and arrange such facts as would throw light upon the subject. The task has been a difficult and perplexing one, because the materials were scanty and scattered ; but it has been performed with a sincere desire to do justice to all parties, and to give a faithful sketch of the progress of events and the present state of affairs in the region of the Rio de la Plata.

Buenos Ayres, La Plata, or the Argentine Republic, formed under the Spanish dominion an extensive vice-royalty, including Upper Peru, now an independent state on the north under the name of Bolivia, and the Banda Oriental, (or Eastern Bank,) now known as the Oriental Republic or Uruguay, lying on the southeast, between the Plata and Uruguay rivers. Paraguay, situated on the north, between the Parana and Paraguay rivers, was originally attached to the Confederation, and is still claimed as a member of it ; but in 1813, she

declared herself independent, and afterwards, under the restrictive policy of the celebrated Dr. Francia, assumed an isolated position and refused all intercourse with other countries. In 1842, after the death of the Dictator, those at the head of affairs repeated the declaration of independence, which was met with a protest by the Argentine government. Bolivia was a member of the Confederation as formed after the country was freed from the Spanish yoke ; but in 1825, with the full assent of the other members of the Union, she separated herself from it and established an independent republic. To this state, the province of Tarija, on the north of Buenos Ayres, voluntarily annexed itself.

Uruguay, or the Banda Oriental, after the expulsion of the Spaniards, was regarded as a member of the Argentine Confederation ; but this province finally fell under the sway of Artigas, a ferocious tyrant, who commenced his career as chief of a ruffian band of smugglers, afterwards betrayed his associates to the Spanish government for money and rank, then became a zealous patriot leader, and finally aspired to make Uruguay independent and himself its chief. This assumption of independence and authority brought upon him the hostility of the Confederation. After successfully sustaining himself for several years against all attacks, he was at last defeated in a bloody battle by the Argentine general, Ramirez, and compelled to take refuge in Paraguay. There he was detained by Dr. Francia, and remained shut up in a convent till his death, which took place about the year 1826. One little trait will suffice to show the character of the man. His favorite method of disposing of prisoners taken in battle is said to have been to sew them up in raw hides, and then leave them in the sun to perish !

The defeat of Artigas was the signal for Brazil to put forward her claims to the territory of Uruguay. These, however, were stoutly resisted by the Argentine Confederation ; and after a bloody struggle between the two powers, the disputed territory was erected, in 1828, with the consent of all parties, into an independent republic.

These states having thus withdrawn and commenced political business on their own account, (Bolivia and Uruguay in due form and with the assent of the remaining provinces, but Paraguay only by isolation, and under the protest of

Buenos Ayres,) there still remained an extensive territory, consisting chiefly of detached cities with surrounding cultivated tracts, forming, as it were, oases of civilization in the midst of a vast expanse of untilled and almost uninhabited plain. Each of these cities is the centre and capital of a province or district in some respects analogous to one of our States; and all combined form what is now generally known by the name of the **ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION**.

This territory has Bolivia and the Pilcomayo river on the north; on the east, the Paraguay river, separating it from Paraguay, and the Uruguay river, separating it from Brazil and Uruguay; on the southeast, the Rio de La Plata and the ocean; on the south, the Rio Negro, separating it from Patagonia; and on the west, the great range of the Andes, which forms the dividing line between it and Chili. The provinces, as nearly as we can ascertain, are Salta, Catamarca, Tucuman, and the Indian territory of Chaco, in the north; Rioja and San Juan in the west; Santiago, Cordova, and San Luis in the interior; Corrientes, Misiones, and Entre Rios in the east; and Mendoza and Buenos Ayres in the south.

These provinces extend over nineteen degrees of latitude and eight of longitude, and are watered by numerous navigable rivers, of which the Parana and its vast branches supply the most extensive means of internal communication. The climate is various but generally healthy, so that the principal province, Buenos Ayres, takes its name from the purity of its atmosphere. A large portion of the surface is occupied by vast, sterile plains; the remainder is fertile and well adapted for the culture of grain, rice, tobacco, cotton, and other agricultural products. Cattle are raised in immense numbers, and furnish the material for an extensive foreign trade in hides, horns, and tallow. The precious metals, with copper, iron, and lead, have been found in different parts of the country; but its mineral resources have been very imperfectly explored. The population has been variously estimated at from one to two millions, of whom about fifty thousand are Indians.

The government is nominally republican. The provinces have formed a federal league, in its general features resembling that of the United States; but their union is by no means firm, nor are the rights of the respective members of

the confederation distinctly defined. One great difficulty lies in the predominance of a provincial over a national spirit ; and so strong has been the disposition manifested, by the interior provinces especially, to act upon the most ultra principles of state rights, that the action of the central government has been greatly embarrassed. Buenos Ayres is the leading member of the confederacy, and to her is entrusted the administration of foreign affairs. Buenos Ayres is the capital, and sustains the chief part of the government expenditure. Here resides the chief executive officer ; here assemble the representatives ; and from this place, as a central point, have radiated those influences, which, commencing with the expulsion of the Spaniards, have revolutionized and pacificated provinces, made and unmade governors, ruined but *not* rebuilt cities, and finally brought the people of the whole territory to submit to the iron rule of a dictatorial sovereign. We will briefly record the principal events which, in the course of about thirty years, have brought the country to its present position.

In 1810 commenced the struggle between the people and the Spanish authorities, which terminated in the success of the former, and a solemn declaration of independence on the 9th of July, 1816, by a general Congress assembled at Tucuman. During the whole of this period, however, the selfish ambition and the dissensions of the leading men prevented the establishment of a stable government. Soon after the commencement of the contest, it was decided that the place of the Viceroy should be filled by an officer with the title of President. The first occupant of this important post was Colonel Saavedra, whose administration was inefficient and oppressive. He was deposed in October, 1811, and the direction of affairs was intrusted to three persons, Sarratea, Chiclana, and Passo, one of whom was to retire every six months. The government was successfully administered by these parties till October, 1812, when the Assembly elected Medrano in the place of Sarratea. This choice gave umbrage to the military ; and the consequence was a compulsory dissolution of the government and the formation of a new triumvirate, the members of which were Pena, Jonte, and Passo. On the 31st of January, 1813, a Congress, under the name of the Constituent Assembly, was convened,

for the purpose of giving more regularity and energy to the public administration. This body, besides various acts eminently favorable to the true interests of the country, decided to entrust the executive power to one person, to be called the Supreme Director. Don Gervasio Posadas, the first Director, was unequal to the duties of his station and the emergencies of the times, and he resigned in favor of his nephew Alvear. Young and inexperienced, Alvear showed himself as rash as his predecessor had been weak, and he was soon deposed and sent out of the country. His place was filled by General Rondeau, who was driven from power by the people, made desperate by the oppressions and outrages of their military rulers. To Rondeau succeeded Ramon Balcarce, who also was soon deposed for alleged neglect of duty. A commission was then named, composed of Yrigoyen and Escalada, who administered the government till the arrival at Buenos Ayres of Juan Martin Pueyrredon, who had been elected Supreme Director by the Congress assembled at Tucuman, during their session in the summer of 1816. In 1818, Pueyrredon was charged with treasonable practices against the state, and General Ramirez, the conqueror of Artigas, marched on Buenos Ayres, took possession of the city, and was hailed by the people as *Liberator*, while Pueyrredon fled to Montevideo.

Shortly after, General Ramirez marched to the north with twenty-two hundred men, to check a movement made by General Carrera, a native of Chili, who had raised a force in the interior with the design of crossing the mountains and revolutionizing that country, or, as some say, of menacing the government of Buenos Ayres. His attack on Carrera was unsuccessful; and during his retreat, Ramirez was so harassed by his active enemy, that at last he could muster only seven hundred men. Continuing the retreat, he received information that Echague, his second in command, had joined the opposite party, raised the standard of rebellion, and was on the march to meet him at the head of three thousand men. Hemmed in between two forces, Ramirez elected to fight the rebel, and after a sanguinary conflict, was overpowered, taken prisoner, led out before the remnant of his army immediately after the battle, and shot. His head was severed from the body, and sent through the principal towns of the republic as a trophy.

Carrera's fate was similar to that of his unfortunate opponent. He moved towards Chili; but before he could reach the foot of the mountains which separate it from Mendoza, he was met by a powerful force led by the governor of that province, fought his enemies a day and a half, was defeated, taken prisoner, and shot, at a small village where two of his brothers had met a similar death about two years before.

For several years after this period, the history of the republic is but a melancholy tale of confusion, contests, and bloodshed. The province of Salta, for example, through the ambition of its governor, General Guemez, was led to declare war against the neighboring province of Tucuman, under Don Bernivia Arouez. A fierce contest ensued, during which the sufferings of the people were excessive, and Arouez succeeded at last in repelling the invading army. But with all his bravery and devotion, he could not escape the fate of his brethren in power. A revolution soon broke out, Arouez was deposed, led out into the Plaza, and without ceremony or even the form of a trial, publicly shot. The same narrative will answer for the rest of the country. There was no stability of government, no security of property or life. Bands of unpaid soldiers, or rather robbers, traversed the interior, and every man's hand was against his neighbor. There was no sympathy of feeling, no unity of action between one province and another, or between the provinces and the nominal government; and no political head existed that could command the confidence of the people, or compel the obedience of the States. The interference of the Argentine Republic in the affairs of Uruguay, through which that province, after a protracted struggle, was liberated from the power of Brazil and made an independent State by the treaty of August 27th, 1828, undoubtedly contributed to unsettle the country, and add to the burdens and distresses of the people.

On the march of the Argentine army homeward from Uruguay, after the ratification of the treaty, General Lavalle, the commander-in-chief, declared the existing authorities unworthy of public confidence, and announced his intention of deposing Don Manuel Dorrego, then governor of Buenos Ayres. Dorrego retired from the city on the approach of Lavalle, who took possession on the 1st of December, 1828. A new election was immediately held under the auspices of

his bayonets, which resulted, of course, in his elevation to the office of governor. Having obtained reinforcements from General Rosas, then commander-in-chief of the country districts, Dorrego made a stand at Punta Marcus, about seven leagues from the city. But his irregular troops were unable to resist the veterans from the fields of Uruguay, led by Lavalle; and after a bloody battle, Dorrego was defeated, taken prisoner, and after the established custom, immediately shot.

Here appears upon the scene of action a noted personage, of whose history, character, and policy, there are the most contradictory accounts; but whose permanence at the head of affairs, when his predecessors, with scarcely an exception, had found the executive office only an avenue to exile or death, and whose firmness and success in the midst of the most trying and terrible events, mark him as no ordinary man. Don Juan Manuel De Rosas, though a native of the city, spent the early years of his life in the country, where by his energy and industry while manager of a great estate belonging to a wealthy family, he acquired great influence and a landed property seventy-four square leagues in extent. He devoted himself zealously to agriculture, and his lands were noted for their excellent condition and their productiveness, especially in corn. His first aim seems to have been, to acquire the confidence of the *Guachos*, a wild, independent, and warlike race, descended from the European colonists, who roam over the vast plains of the country, draw their food principally from the immense herds of cattle, despise agriculture and the arts of civilized life, and glory in the idea of their own dignity and freedom. By manifesting an interest in their welfare, by adopting to a certain extent their dress and habits, by acting as umpire in their disputes, by setting an example of order in the laws which he made for his own *estancias*, and of obedience, by submitting to the same punishment himself which he inflicted on the humblest laborer in case of transgression, and by organizing a force of several hundred men, whose discipline enabled him to repel the dreaded attacks of the Indians,—he acquired an unbounded popularity among the *Guachos*, and, indeed, throughout the country. “He spoke disrespectfully of General Rosas, and I killed him,” was the excuse offered at that time by a man who had been arrested for murder.

The influence, activity, and courage of Rosas, gained for him the appointment of commander-in-chief of the country districts, which post, as we have already mentioned, he held when Dorrego was driven from power. It was in opposition to his advice, that Dorrego went into the battle which resulted in his defeat and death. But the success of Lavalle by no means intimidated Rosas. Aided by Governor Lopez, of Santa Fé, he raised troops, carried on a guerilla warfare, obtained possession of the country around Buenos Ayres, and so obstructed the supplies of provisions that the inhabitants were nearly reduced to starvation. In this strait, Lavalle made terms with Rosas, and in July, 1829, retired to Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, while the successful general entered the city with great pomp amid the rejoicings of the people. Having restored order and reëstablished the government, he disbanded his army and retired to his estates; but was recalled, near the close of the year 1829, to assume the office of Governor of the province of Buenos Ayres, to which he had been elected for the term of three years. From that time to the present, Rosas has been the master spirit of the republic. Only eminent abilities could have raised him to the seat of power in the face of party opposition and unnumbered obstacles; nothing could have sustained him in his place in the midst of so many trials, but a strong hand, a mind fertile in resources, and a spirit which, when once resolved, goes forward without flinching towards its object through fire and blood.

It was during the contest between Lavalle and Rosas, that those political distinctions became prominently marked, a blind devotion to which has since stained the country with blood, and impeded its progress towards true freedom. Wherever liberty of thought is allowed, there differences of opinion will arise; and in politics, these differences show themselves in the organization and conflict of parties. The instability of the earlier governments of the republic, however, had proceeded, not so much from a difference about measures, as from a devotion to men. Now, principles were introduced as the basis of organization; and the people ranged themselves, according to their prepossessions, under the banners of the "Federalists" or the "Unitarians;" party designations and divisions which are still recognized in the republic.

The "Unitarian" party embraced those who, seeing the extremes of license and disorder into which the original provincial organization had led the country, desired to change the form of government, and consolidate the discordant elements into one harmonious whole, with an executive head responsible directly to the people. To this party Lavalle belonged ; and he was accused by his opponents of wishing to consolidate the provinces into one state and to make himself Dictator. The Federal party, on the other hand, adhered to the old form of Confederation, with its independent states, having a common organ merely for foreign relations and general defence. To this party Rosas has given himself, from the beginning, with such an intensity of zeal, that not only do his public messages and documents bear the inscription "Death to the savage Unitarians," but his acts are said to have been as severe towards them as such a motto might lead one to expect. These charges, however, come from his enemies, and must be received with allowance. One can hardly believe, that he rides on a saddle covered with the skin of one of his opponents, or that a present of salted ears, with an affidavit that they once belonged to a political enemy, has proved a most acceptable donation to him ; yet nothing but the sternest severity can account for the current reports in regard to his treatment of many of his political opponents who have fallen into his hands.

At the time of the formation of these parties, it may readily be inferred that, next to entire independence, the great mass of the people in each province would have preferred a federal organization ; since their provincial pride would not allow them to entertain the idea of giving up their individuality and merging themselves in one consolidated republic. At the present time, it may be doubted whether the terms are used with any reference to their original meaning, since the will of the Dictator is the supreme law ; and thus Rosas, the great head of the Federal party, is, in fact, a strict Unitarian ; while all those who disapprove of the assumption of dictatorial power by Rosas, or in any way oppose him, are proscribed as "Unitarians," even though they may be in fact zealous advocates for the independence and federal union of the States. The causes of this curious change of positions we cannot pause minutely to trace. They will be found,

principally, in the character and habits of the people, and in the condition of the country when Rosas came into power, which rendered a free, or even a federal, government an absolute impossibility ; which induced him to demand dictatorial powers before he would accept office ; and which, concentrating in him as a unit "the sum of public power," while he clung to the name of "Federalist," converted all his opponents, in spite of themselves, into "savage Unitarians."

Though by the accession of Rosas to power, the Unitarian party had lost their ascendancy in Buenos Ayres, they did not relinquish their efforts to maintain their ground in other parts of the country. General Paz, who had been sent by Lavalle before his overthrow into the interior at the head of a considerable force, had made himself master of Cordova in April, 1829, and acting from that point, used every effort to strengthen the Unitarian cause and organize a strong opposition to the government. San Juan, Mendoza, and Catamarca were successively invaded and induced to join in the movement. Facundo Quiroga, one of the bravest generals in the country, but as cruel as he is brave, endeavored to make a stand in favor of the government, and was defeated, but was soon again at the head of an army. Paz had now wrested from the power of the Federal party nearly all the interior provinces ; and those which opposed the plan of Paz were Buenos Ayres under Rosas, and Santa Fé under Lopez. Quiroga once put down, it was expected that these would fall an easy prey to the Unitarian commander, and no obstacle would then remain to the reëstablishment of his party in power. Paz and Quiroga met in the beginning of 1830, in a large plain near Cordova ; and after a battle, in which Quiroga is said to have fought more like a demon than any thing human, stripped of every article of clothing but his drawers, and raging over the field covered with the blood of those who had fallen before him, he was utterly defeated and his force disorganized. Of the prisoners taken by Paz in this battle, as an act of mercy, only one out of every five was shot, together with about fifteen officers !

Notwithstanding this terrible defeat, Quiroga swore to return within two months at the head of a force sufficient to face his enemy and avenge the past ; and he kept his word. Paz, however, was ready to meet him, and again were the

forces of Quiroga cut to pieces. He fled towards Buenos Ayres ; and it is noted as a stroke of policy on the part of Rosas, that he issued a proclamation announcing a great victory by Quiroga, made extensive preparations for the reception of the conqueror, and had the streets swept through which the general and his suite were to pass !

The interior provinces, together with Tucuman and Salta, now renounced the authority of Rosas and declared for the Unitarian party ; but the sea-board provinces still adhered to the Federalists. Towards the latter part of the year 1830, a convention was called at Cordova by General Paz, which notified the foreign ministers at Buenos Ayres, that no acts of Rosas would hereafter be recognized beyond the limits of his own province. This movement determined Rosas at once to vindicate his authority and his exclusive right to treat with foreign powers ; and he resumed the offensive. His first step was to drive back Lavalle, who, in the beginning of 1831, attempted, under cover of the disturbances in the interior, to regain possession of Buenos Ayres. An army of eight thousand five hundred men was then raised, after great exertions, and marched forth in three divisions, under the command of Generals Lopez, Viamont, and Quiroga, with the avowed intention of sweeping the country and crushing the rebellion fomented by the Unitarian leaders. General Paz advanced to meet them ; and it is difficult to say what might have been the result, had not a trifling incident, in connection with the incompetency of his second in command, changed the whole face of affairs. He had been three or four days on his march, when, while riding towards evening some distance in advance of his army, with only two officers, to select a proper place for an encampment, he suddenly came upon a scouting party of five or six men from the enemy. Hardly had he turned to escape, when a ball-lasso* from one of the party broke the leg of the general's horse and brought the rider to the ground. In a moment, he found himself a prisoner. His companions barely escaped, to carry to the army the tidings of the mis-

* The ball-lasso consists of three iron or stone balls, united to a common centre by hide thongs several feet in length. The smallest of the three is held in the hand, while the other two are whirled round the head ; and when they have acquired a sufficient velocity, are sent with unerring aim and to a great distance. As soon as the thongs strike an animal, by the rotary motion of the balls they are wound suddenly around its legs ; which are thus firmly entangled and oftentimes broken.

fortune that had befallen them. The capture of Paz ruined the cause of the Unitarians. The panic-stricken La Madrid, his second in command, immediately ordered a retreat, and took up a position at Tucuman. Quiroga followed and attacked him with a superior force, destroyed a large part of his army, shot five hundred prisoners after the battle, and compelled the surviving officers and men to seek refuge in the adjoining state of Bolivia. The people of the disturbed provinces soon after submitted, and throughout the whole country the Federal authorities were restored to power.

Soon after these events, the term for which General Rosas had been elected expired, and he retired from office, leaving the country in a state of comparative tranquillity. General Balcarce was elected his successor; his administration was disturbed and unsatisfactory, particularly to the Federalists, who charged him with ambitious designs and hostility to Rosas. In October, 1833, the governor having arbitrarily suspended the elections, because the friends of Rosas would probably have the majority, a violent outbreak ensued. A party of seventy men left the city, declared against Balcarce, and prepared, according to custom, to starve the government into submission. The country people joined with them, and the demonstration became so formidable, that Balcarce resigned his office and fled from the city. General Viamont was chosen in his place; but after a few months of fruitless effort to effect a union of parties and restore order, he also was compelled to retire. Several eminent citizens were successively elected to the vacant place, but no one of them having firmness or self-confidence enough to accept it, the representatives were compelled, in September, 1834, temporarily to give the executive power to their own president.

While these stirring scenes were enacted in the capital, General Rosas had been engaged in an enterprise intimately connected with the welfare of the state. The Indians of the Pampas having become the scourge and terror of the frontiers, laying waste in their sudden incursions the advanced settlements, and thus checking the progress of agriculture, he organized an expedition to sweep their country, and inflict a blow so terrible as to render them forever incapable of future depredations. For more than a year he was engaged in this bloody labor, during which he destroyed thousands of Indians,

and completely subdued the wild tribes of the plain. He returned towards the close of General Balcarce's administration, bringing with him hundreds of rescued captives, dismissed his army to their homes with the motto, *Union, Remedio, al Pais*, — "Union, Reform, for the Country," and retired to his estates, to observe from a distance the storm of factions which threatened to bring the whole political fabric to ruin.

All eyes were turned to Rosas, as the only man who could sustain or save the state. But he resolutely remained in retirement. Five times a presidency under a national constitution was tendered to him, and as often was it refused. At last, in 1835, in reply to a strong appeal from the representatives to come to their aid, he avowed his willingness again to take office, but only on condition that for a time he should have extraordinary powers, not greater than had been usurped by his predecessors, but absolutely necessary for the safety of the state, considering the critical position of affairs. The representatives conceded to him *la suma del poder publico*, "the sum of the public power," stipulating only for federation and the religion of the state. After this act had been doubly ratified, Rosas accepted the office of Governor and Captain-General of the province; and thus, by the act of the representatives and by the voice of the people, was made in effect absolute Dictator.

By the terms of his election, he might have dismissed both the legislature and the judiciary; but at his request the representatives resumed their deliberations, and the tribunals of justice continued to discharge their duties. The Dictator now actively devoted himself, according to his motto, to the work of order and reform, and to the pacification of the state. He called to his aid the tried friends of his former administration; dismissed the peculators of the treasury, and appointed to office those in whose faithfulness and honesty he could confide; reorganized the system of finance; restored the credit of the public bank; established an effective police; and introduced strict discipline and subordination into the army. Turning then from the city to the country, he encouraged immigration, and carried out the scheme, which he had formed in the commencement of his career, for exciting an interest in agricultural pursuits, — evidently with a view of rendering the republic independent of foreign countries in re-

gard to its supplies of grain. His attention was next given to the political condition of the state. During the terms of Balcarce and Viamont, the Unitarian party had gathered strength, and made outbreaks in several places, by which the interior provinces were kept in deplorable confusion. Rosas called a strong force into the field, and proceeded immediately to drive the Unitarians from their positions and to put an end to civil commotions. His opponents did not yield without the most strenuous opposition; and so imbibittered had the different parties become, and so desperate the Unitarians in particular, that the contest was marked on both sides by acts of inconceivable atrocity.

Quiroga, knowing how active he had been in the movements which had thrown into the hands of Rosas the dictatorial power, now began to cherish ambitious designs. He declared himself in favor of establishing a constitution and laws, and made a formal visit to Buenos Ayres for the purpose of discussing the subject with the Dictator. He urged upon Rosas the immediate organization of a general representative government. Rosas did not approve of the plan, but agreed that Quiroga should start on a mission of peace and reconciliation through the country, and ascertain the views of the people, and whether the condition of the provinces would authorize the hope that such a movement could be permanently sustained. Quiroga started on his tour, but had advanced only a short distance into the province of Cordova, when he and all his attendants were brutally murdered by a party who laid in wait for them. Even the horses and a dog that was in his carriage were killed. The Dictator manifested the deepest grief, and had the body of Quiroga conveyed to Buenos Ayres, where a splendid monument was erected to his memory; yet the opponents of Rosas charge him with having been privy to the assassination. General Lopez, the second of the triumvirate, who had for some time been in ill health, died soon after the murder of Quiroga; and thus the Dictator stood alone. Most of the men of influence who had opposed his policy had either died, been assassinated, shot, or driven from the country; the few who were left, with the great body of the people, found it expedient to submit quietly to his authority.

In 1836, a discussion arose the ultimate results of which

put to the severest test the authority and abilities of Rosas. The French inhabitants of Buenos Ayres regarded the English with jealousy, and the opinion prevailed among them, that certain privileges of trade enjoyed by the latter were granted through a spirit of favoritism on the part of the government. Several cases of severity and injustice towards persons claiming to be French citizens were therefore brought forward, and made the means of provoking a discussion and exciting sympathy in their favor. A correspondence was commenced by the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Vins de Peysac, with the government, relative to these grounds of complaint on the part of his countrymen; and in his hands, the affair was proceeding with every prospect of a satisfactory conclusion, when it was unfortunately interrupted by his death.

The negotiation was then taken up by M. Roger, the French *élève consul*; but Rosas was disinclined to treat upon such matters with an inferior agent. M. Roger's pride took fire at this slight; he put forward new and extraordinary claims in behalf of his countrymen, both residents and non-residents, and conducted himself with so much arrogance as entirely to disgust the Argentine government. The consul required an answer to his *ultimatum* in forty-eight hours; — Rosas did not condescend to notice it. Roger withdrew at once to Montevideo, and Rear Admiral Le Blanc went up the river with his fleet, and demanded an indemnification of 300,000 francs for losses and injuries sustained by French subjects, and that they should be permitted to trade on the same footing with the English. Rosas refused to treat with a person who had not the proper credentials, and the French admiral then declared the ports of the republic in a state of blockade. At the end of twenty-five days, instead of forty-eight hours, as had been required, Rosas answered the *ultimatum* of M. Roger, and vindicated his own course, protesting at the same time against the act of Admiral Le Blanc. This train of events, ending in the blockade of Buenos Ayres by the French, occupied the time from the early part of 1836 to March, 1838.

Within this period, other events also took place of the utmost importance to the country, to explain which, it will be necessary to enter into some details respecting another

state. It will be remembered, that at the close of the war between Buenos Ayres and Brazil in 1828, a treaty of peace was made between these two powers through the mediation of England, by which Uruguay, or the Banda Oriental, which had been the subject of dispute, was acknowledged as a separate republic, and its independence was assured by both contracting parties for five years; after which, the new state was to take care of itself.

On the 10th of September, 1829, a constitution was proclaimed similar to that of the United States, its principal executive officer being a President, elected once every four years. The first President, or one of the first, was Don Fructuoso Rivera. All that we know of his administration is, that when he retired from office, he left the treasury heavily burdened with debt. In 1836, Don Manuel Oribe was elected President of Uruguay. As soon as he came into office, he took measures to secure the payment of the public debt, and to introduce regularity and responsibility into the management of the government accounts; but his strictness raised up a cloud of enemies against him, among those who had long been accustomed to plunder the public treasury with impunity. These, with others who were dissatisfied with the amount of taxes imposed, formed a strong party in Montevideo against the new president.

When Oribe came into office, as an act of policy he placed Rivera at the head of the army; but the improvident habits of the latter followed him even to that post. He called for large sums for military purposes; but when the president required a specification of the objects for which so much money had been expended, Rivera was unable or unwilling to give an account. The president insisted, and a rupture between them was the consequence. Rivera was soon deprived of the chief command, which was conferred on Don Ignacio Oribe, a brother of the president. From this moment, Rivera became a personal and political enemy of Oribe. He retired into the country, where, in conjunction with General Lavalle, who, as we have before mentioned, had taken refuge in Uruguay, he busied himself in organizing a force composed of the disaffected of the country, many of the Unitarians expatriated from Buenos Ayres, and a number of Frenchmen. His avowed purpose was to revolutionize the state and depose the president.

At this juncture, Oribe called for assistance from the Dictator, as a party to the treaty of 1828, and interested in sustaining the legal government of Uruguay, which was threatened in part by refugees from the Argentine Republic. Rosas promptly sent supplies of arms, ammunition, and troops, though the French minister murmured and even protested against such interference in the affairs of Uruguay.

These revolutionary movements in the neighboring republic, headed as they were by Lavalle, formerly a leader of the Unitarian party in Buenos Ayres, attracted the attention and excited the suspicions of the Federalists. Party excitement rose to the highest pitch, and acts of the grossest cruelty were perpetrated. Each party became known by its color, red being adopted as the badge of the Federalists, and blue as that of the Unitarians. The latter color, therefore, became an object of great dislike in the city. A zealous Federalist would pick up a piece of blue cloth, and fastening it in derision to the tail of his horse, allow it to drag in the dust as he rode through the streets.

And now began to appear the consequences which the Dictator and his party had feared from the movements in Uruguay. The people in the southern part of the province began to show signs of discontent, and to murmur at the course of the government. A revolution seemed to be impending; but Rosas crushed it at once. As soon as he had gained a sufficient knowledge of the prominent movers, he caused a large number of their relatives in the city to be seized, and held as hostages for the obedience of their kinsmen. This step proved effectual, and no more was heard of the revolution. The hostages were kept in prison about two months, when, on the 23d of May, 1837, the anniversary of the independence of the republic, they were liberated.

The affairs of the country were now comparatively quiet. Rosas continued to render aid to Oribe, although the expenses of the war made it necessary to issue treasury notes, which became depreciated, and thus deranged the currency. France renewed her protest against his interference, and continued the negotiation on account of her subjects; the English minister, Mandeville, looked on in quiet; and the struggle still continued in Uruguay between the revolutionists and the legal government.

In 1837, however, Rivera was defeated in the battle of Carpinteria, and took refuge in Rio Grande, a southern province of Brazil, and a favorite place of resort for the outcasts and revolutionists of both countries, when driven from their own territories. Still he did not relinquish his designs ; but having recruited his forces from the disaffected in that province, and enlisted some Indians of the *Misiones*, he returned to the Oriental territory and carried on a guerilla warfare, though with little prospect of final success. The contest between the two parties in Uruguay had continued about two years, when the difficulty between France and the Argentine government was brought to a head by the formal demand for indemnification by Admiral Le Blanc, the refusal of Rosas to treat with an unofficial agent, and a declaration of a strict blockade of the ports of Buenos Ayres by the French fleet in March, 1838.

This event brought about results of great importance both to Uruguay and the Argentine Republic. The French in Montevideo, who are very numerous, numbering, it is said, nearly seventeen thousand, sympathized with their countrymen in the controversy with Rosas, and were desirous of inducing Oribe to aid the demonstration against Buenos Ayres. They wished particularly to engage him in the quarrel, in order that they might have Montevideo as a centre of operations, and a convenient place in which to sell prizes, and carry out their schemes of profit based on the existence of the blockade. But Oribe had too little sympathy with the foreign population, and felt too deeply his obligations to Rosas, to join in the crusade against him ; he resolutely refused to take any step which would compromise him in the affair. Deprived, through the blockade, of the assistance of the Dictator, and harassed by the agents of France as well as by the exertions of the party opposed to him, he found himself closely besieged in Montevideo by Rivera, with but little hope of being able to maintain his position.

His opponent, on the other hand, who was not over scrupulous as to the means, provided only he could again make his way to power, solicited the aid of the French, to enable him to obtain possession of the city. As through him they hoped to accomplish what they had failed in doing through Oribe, — that is, to raise the country against Rosas, — Admiral Le Blanc and the French consul, Barradere, readily

accepted his propositions, and gave the assistance which he required. This accession of strength turned the scale decidedly in favor of the Riverista party ; and Oribe, seeing that he could no longer continue his resistance without uselessly distressing the country, determined to retire from office, though about a year and a half of his official term had not yet expired. Accordingly, on the 23d of October, 1838, he offered his resignation, at the same time protesting that he yielded only to the violence of an armed faction, the efforts of which would have been impotent without the assistance of the French marine ; and appealing to the French government for redress against the conduct of the Admiral and Consul of France. Accompanied by his principal officers and friends, Oribe retired to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with the highest honors, and treated as "the legal President of Uruguay."

On the departure of Oribe, General Rivera peaceably entered Montevideo, where he was chosen President of the republic, and quiet was restored to the city. Not so, however, with the city of Buenos Ayres and the interior provinces of the Argentine republic. Partly from the instigations of the French agents, and partly from his own policy, to give the dreaded head of the Confederation so much to do at home that he would find it impossible to interfere in the affairs of Uruguay, Rivera had no sooner settled himself in power, than he entered into a correspondence with the government of Corrientes, an Argentine province which had manifested some dissatisfaction with the Dictator, for the purpose of drawing it into the combination against Rosas. He also called upon the Unitarians, who had taken refuge in the Oriental territory, to unite with his forces ; he urged Lavalle to raise the standard of rebellion in Entre Rios, an Argentine province on the east of Corrientes ; and he ended by declaring war against the Argentine republic in February, 1839, on the ground that it had attacked the independence of Uruguay. These acts of Rivera were not without their fruits. Stimulated by his movements and success, and as is asserted, receiving promises of aid from the French, the Unitarians in the city of Buenos Ayres began to entertain new hopes and to form new combinations, and those in the provinces of Tucuman, Salta, Corrientes, and Entre Rios, to prepare for another struggle with the Dictator.

But they had to deal with no common man. The first act of Rosas was to confer on Oribe the rank of Brigadier-General in the army of the Argentine Confederation, and to offer him the command of the forces intended to hold in check the dissatisfied provinces. Oribe accepted the command, and with characteristic energy hastened his preparations, and was soon in rapid march for the north.

The position in which Rosas found himself at this time was very critical. Within the city was organized a conspiracy of a large number of citizens, many of them persons of distinction, who were opposed to his dictatorial power; without, the security of the place was threatened and its commerce obstructed by the blockade of the French fleet; Lavalle, his deadly foe, at the head of a strong force flushed with their successes in Corrientes, was advancing from the north; Rivera, with the forces of Uruguay, threatened him from the east; his own army was absent in the interior; and, to crown the whole, discontent and a revolutionary spirit were rapidly spreading in the northern provinces.

Standing thus at bay, his enemies crowding upon him on every side, Rosas determined to meet the desperate case with a desperate remedy, and — come what might from those at a distance — to take terrible vengeance upon those who were within his power. His own life had been repeatedly threatened; — he resolved, by a severe and sudden blow, to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. The names of the conspirators in the city were known to him. Without warning or trial, seventy of those most deeply implicated in the affair were seized and put to death; — and the conspiracy was at an end.

Great exasperation undoubtedly prevailed on both sides, and it would be strange if the dominant party, in the fury of their excitement, had not been guilty of acts of cruelty and injustice. We cannot wonder at them, especially when we consider the character and habits of the people by whom they were perpetrated. The opponents of Rosas have busied themselves in searching them out, and holding them up in all their revolting features to public view, so as to cast a stigma upon his character. But nothing can be more unfair than to hold the principal of a party responsible for all the acts of violence and cruelty of which his followers have been guilty.

Frequent mention is made of the fact, that after these terrible events, and the triumph of the Dictator by the quelling of the conspiracy and the execution or exile of its principal leaders, a portrait of Rosas was displayed in a triumphal car, and drawn through the city by a crowd who shouted, "Long live the Confederation! Death to the savage Unitarians!" This act of silly and pompous adulation has been imputed to Rosas, as if he had instigated or sanctioned it for the purpose of establishing his authority and intimidating his opponents. There is no evidence that he had any connection with it; but when viewed in connection with preceding events, and the character and religion of the people, it appears a natural means adopted by the party of the Dictator, to show their zeal in his cause, and their joy at his triumph over their political enemies. If carrying portraits in tumultuous processions is an evidence of political servility, certainly neither of the prominent parties in this country is entirely free from blame.

Rosas, however, is not wont to rely upon popular pageantry and clap-trap as a means of establishing his authority. No person better knows the use of stern and convincing realities, and certainly no one has made his enemies more keenly feel this determination of character. The motto adopted by him, "Death to the savage Unitarians," and with his sanction stamped in red letters on all public documents, custom-house permits, and treasury notes, and even painted over the doors of the public buildings, shows the principle on which he is resolved to act, and his conviction that nothing short of the absolute extermination of the Unitarian party would enable him to maintain his power or save the republic from destruction.

Having met the crisis of affairs in the city with an unflinching front, and trodden out the match at the moment of its application to the mine intended to destroy himself and his party, the Dictator turned with new energy to crush the rebellion fomented by Lavalle in the provinces of Corrientes and Entre Rios. At this moment, a favorable turn of fortune awaited him. The French government, moved perhaps by the apprehension of a coming rupture with England, sent orders to Admirals Blanche and Duportail, and Baron Mackau, to treat with the Dictator, making the best terms in their power, and to return with their fleet to France. Negotiations were opened anew, and after a brief discussion, all

disputes were satisfactorily adjusted, a treaty was made, the same commercial facilities were granted to the French as to other foreign nations, and the blockade of Buenos Ayres was raised, October 31st, 1840, having been in force for more than two years. All parties were gratified with this arrangement, except the political opponents of Rosas, who had looked to the difficulty with the French as the means of his overthrow, and the Riveristas and foreign inhabitants of Montevideo, to whom the blockade had afforded a rich harvest of profit through the clandestine trade they had carried on, and the enormous prices they had obtained in consequence of the scarcity in Buenos Ayres.

Rosas was now at liberty to turn his attention towards the interior, and to second the efforts of Oribe to reduce the rebellious provinces to submission. Lavalle, as we have before mentioned, aided by supplies from the French, had crossed the Uruguay with five hundred men, marched into Entre Rios, drawn around him a large body of the disaffected, and rekindled the hopes and zeal of the Unitarians. After gaining some advantages, he suffered a defeat at Santa Fé on the 16th of November, 1840; but by the 28th, he was again at the head of a considerable force, and advanced to Luxan, only twenty leagues from Buenos Ayres, where he encamped in a favorable position.

Rosas did not rest inactive in the city. Leaving Don Felipe Arana, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, as acting governor, he placed himself at the head of the army, and marched to repel the invasion. The conflict was severe, but decisive; it resulted in the total defeat of Lavalle and the disorganization of his army. Retreating by a circuitous route, with a view of taking refuge in Chili or Bolivia, he arrived at Tucuman accompanied only by his staff and about twenty men. Here, or at the small town of Jujuy, farther to the north, while resting at an inn, the fugitives were surprised by an advanced guard of the Argentine army, who fired a volley at random into the house; and Lavalle, who was advancing to the door to ascertain the nature of the attack, was pierced with several balls and killed.

After some further service with the army, Rosas returned to Buenos Ayres, while General Oribe marched with the troops towards the north. He defeated his opponents, and

being joined by many deserters and by the inhabitants of the country, he was so far successful, that, by the beginning of April, 1842, he had driven out General Paz and the army of Uruguay, had swept Santa Fé and Entre Rios with an overwhelming force, and completely broken the power of the Unitarians in those provinces. The news of these successes caused great rejoicing at Buenos Ayres. On the 11th of April, the anniversary of the installation of Rosas, the excitement broke out in acts of the most wanton cruelty upon all who were known or suspected to favor the Unitarian party. Bands of assassins patrolled the streets, unoffending individuals of all classes were brutally massacred, and private malice sated itself under the cover of political hostility. On the morning of the 13th, the heads of two persons were seen hanging in the public beef market, having *blue* ribbons drawn through the nostrils, while the bodies were labelled *carne con cuero*, "meat with the hide." The heads of well known citizens were also carried on carts through the streets, accompanied by music, and with the cry, "who'll buy peaches? who'll buy oranges?" Yet in the midst of all this license and bloodshed, the rights and property of foreigners were scrupulously respected, except in cases where persons had harbored or protected members of the proscribed party.

On the 19th, a decree was issued by order of Rosas, expressing his indignation at the murders which had been committed, and his astonishment that the police had not sooner interfered. Military patrols were established to prevent similar outbreaks, and many of the rioters were seized and imprisoned. Several of those concerned in the assassinations were shot within an hour after their arrest. One of them, named Morcira, who had boasted of killing six persons with his own hand, was adjutant of the city guard; he expected that his office would protect him, but he was mistaken. When seized, he begged for two hours in which to settle his affairs and prepare for death; but no more grace was extended to him than he had granted to the victims of his political hatred a short time before. With these facts before them, our readers can decide how far Rosas is to be held responsible for the atrocities committed by the mob during this reign of terror.

Immediately after these events came the tidings of new

successes in the interior. General Lopez, the last remaining hope of the Unitarians, had met the Federal troops under General Oribe on the borders of the Chaco, and had been completely defeated, with the loss of a large part of his army taken prisoners. The general himself with great difficulty escaped to an island in the Parana river. A decree was thereupon issued, opening trade again with the interior provinces, except for the "savage Unitarians," who were forbidden to leave the city under pain of death, and their property was confiscated for the use of the government. The Unitarians were now entirely broken in spirit, and thought only of making their escape. Some were banished; some were taken in the attempt to escape, and suffered the penalty; but many succeeded, and took refuge in Montevideo, satisfied to have saved their lives by the sacrifice of their property.

While the struggle had thus continued on the land, the marine forces of the Argentine Republic under Commodore Brown, and the Oriental squadron under Commodore Coe, had not been idle. At one time, the Montevidean fleet menaced Buenos Ayres; at another, the Argentine fleet threatened Montevideo. Several actions were fought, but without any decided advantage to either side. Brown, the commander of the Argentine fleet, was a Scotchman, between sixty and seventy years of age; Commodore Coe was a native of New Jersey, aged about thirty-eight, who had joined the party of Rivera because his property had been confiscated by Rosas. In consequence of the dissatisfaction of the Montevidean government with the inefficiency or the ill success of Coe, he resigned his office, and the command of the fleet was given to Signor Garibaldi, an Italian, who is said to have commanded a corvette in the service of Murat, when king of Naples. Soon after Garibaldi's appointment, an action took place near Goya, three hundred miles above Buenos Ayres, between Commodore Brown and two Montevidean vessels which had succeeded in passing up the river. After a severe contest, the latter were set on fire and abandoned. This success gave the preponderance of naval strength entirely to the Argentines.

Rosas now found himself firmly seated in power. The French, with their usual national courtesy, had bowed them-

selves out of their controversy with him ; through the exertions of Oribe, as commander of the forces in the interior, the disturbances in Cordova, Catamarca, Tucuman, and Entre Rios had been quelled with an iron hand, and the provinces reduced to obedience ; two formidable armies under able generals had been defeated and dispersed ; the opposing Unitarians had been awed into submission or driven from the country ; and all opposition in the city had been crushed by the stern measures adopted by the people and the government. The Legislature seized this occasion to express its feelings towards the Dictator, by conferring on him the title of Grand Marshal, which he at once declined, expressing a wish rather to resign the honors and office he already enjoyed, than to receive any additional titles. He did not, however, forget either his enemies or his friends, but determined to direct his attention particularly towards those who had assailed him from Uruguay, and at the same time to make some returns for the good service done him by Oribe in his hour of need.

A plan was therefore organized for the invasion of Uruguay by an Argentine force, of which that General was to be commander-in-chief. The grounds assigned for this invasion were, on the part of Oribe, a right to the government as legal President, since he had been elected in 1836, but had been driven from his country before he had served his full official term of four years ;—on the part of Rosas, the aggressions of the existing government on the rights and territory of the Argentine Confederation, and his duty, as a party to the treaty of 1828 with Brazil, to sustain the independence of Uruguay against internal agitators and foreign influence. Commodore Brown with the Argentine navy, now sufficiently powerful to overawe the enemy's naval force, was to proceed to Montevideo and hold the port under a strict blockade, acting in conjunction with the invading force under Oribe.

The Montevideans were not ignorant of the preparations made in Buenos Ayres. The news of the settlement of the difficulties with the French had, of course, been received with great dissatisfaction. The French residents protested against the act of Baron Mackau, and resolved to draw up an appeal to the Chambers in Paris. Rivera was aware of the necessity for new exertions, and avowed his intention to

blockade Buenos Ayres as soon as the French ships should leave, and to maintain his ground at all hazards. But his coadjutor, Lavalle, had been defeated and killed, General Lopez had been driven from the field, the Montevidean navy had not been able to cope with the opposing fleet, and Oribe was in Corrientes, on the borders of the country, making preparations to commence an invasion of Uruguay. Rivera felt that a crisis was approaching, and strained every nerve to place the city and the country adjacent in a posture of defence. The legislature was convened to prepare for the threatened invasion. Among other acts, a law was passed to emancipate the slaves, of whom, it was computed, five thousand could be relied upon to assist in the defence of the territory.

In the latter part of 1842, General Oribe with his forces crossed the Parana into Entre Rios, and began his march towards Uruguay. While encamped in Entre Rios and preparing for the campaign, he received offers of mediation from the French and English ministers, which he promptly rejected. On the 6th of December, while yet within the Argentine territory, he encountered at Arroyo Grande the forces of the Montevideans and their allies, eight thousand strong, under the command of General Rivera. A bloody battle ensued, which resulted in the total defeat of the Montevidean army, with the loss of twenty-four hundred men, and the flight of Rivera. So closely was he pursued, that, like the redoubtable hero of Cerro Gordo, he lost his embroidered coat, hat, waistcoat, and sword. The victorious army pressed forward at once, crossed the Rio Negro into the territory of Uruguay, and marched towards Montevideo, subduing the interior towns and gathering strength as it advanced.

At this interesting period, the ministers of England and France make their appearance on the stage. On the 15th of December, they addressed to Rosas notes offering the mediation of their governments, which the Dictator firmly declined. The ministers thereupon wrote another note, informing Rosas that other measures would be taken to remove the obstacles to a peaceful navigation of the river Plata. Soon after, the British minister, on behalf of the English and French governments, gave notice to the Argentine government, that the sanguinary war so long existing between the governments of

Buenos Ayres and Montevideo *must cease* ; and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities by both parties, and that each power should withdraw its troops within its own territory. At the same time, the ministers addressed a note to General Oribe, requiring that his army should not pass the Uruguay, or if it had already crossed, should immediately return. This interference of the ministers caused some delay ; but Oribe finally, disregarding their pretensions to interfere, urged forward his army, defeated the forces drawn up to oppose him near the city, and succeeded, on the 16th of February, 1843, in investing Montevideo with an army of about ten thousand men, at the same time that it was blockaded by the Argentine fleet under Commodore Brown.

In the rear of Oribe, however, was Rivera, with a body of cavalry, while General Paz, with a force of six thousand men, prepared to defend Montevideo. The provisional government levied contributions, offered land to those who would join them, and especially addressed themselves to the French residents, who had been so much opposed to the convention between Baron Mackau and Rosas, by which the blockade of Buenos Ayres had been raised. The French consul Pichon, Rear-Admiral Clerval, and his successor, Admiral Lainé, strove with apparent good faith to prevent their countrymen from mingling in the contest ; but a large body of them was formed under the name of the "French Legion," and took part in the defence of the city. The English Commodore, Purvis, issued a proclamation, forbidding subjects of Her Majesty to engage with either of the belligerents ; and yet he is charged with attempting to obstruct the operations of the besieging forces, and to interfere with the blockade. On one occasion, he laid an embargo on the Argentine squadron, under the pretext of demanding explanations relative to a circular issued by Oribe on the 1st of April, in which he threatened to treat as enemies all foreigners found in arms assisting the rebels. For several months the siege was pressed by Oribe, but the city gave no sign of surrender. Rivera, during this time, had attempted to create a diversion in the interior ; but he was unsuccessful and was hard pressed by General Urquiza, governor of the Argentine province of Entre Rios. Skirmishes occurred from time to time between parties of the besiegers and the besieged ; and the fate of

prisoners was sealed. *They were spared by neither party.* Cattle were killed in great numbers on both sides, in order to cut off subsistence from the enemy.

On the 11th of September, 1843, the Consul-General of France issued a notice, declaring that the arming of the French in Montevideo was regarded by the king's government with great displeasure ; and enjoining upon the Admiral and public agents the strictest neutrality between the contending parties. The English Admiral also received orders to remain neutral, and acknowledge the Argentine blockade. The Brazilian minister, however, refused to acknowledge the blockade ; and by offers of money and assistance, prevailed on the French legion, which had been on the point of disbanding, to continue its services ; while, at the same time, he set on foot a negotiation with the foreign minister of the existing government, for ceding a part of Uruguay to the empire of Brazil.

This hostile policy is said to have arisen from the refusal of Rosas to ratify a treaty of alliance made between Brazil and the Argentine Confederation on the 27th of March, 1843, having for its object the reëstablishment of peace in Uruguay by the deposition of Rivera and the restoration of the legal government. The reason assigned by Rosas for this refusal was, that the Oriental government was not duly represented in the treaty. Had he assented to it, most probably all the suffering and bloodshed caused by this protracted contest might have been avoided ; and yet, it cannot be denied that the principle on which he acted was correct.

At the close of 1843, the besieged were suffering greatly for provisions, and desertions to the besieging force were frequent ; yet the contest lingered. The French Consul-General made a second requisition on the government to cause his countrymen to lay aside their arms, but they refused. He then struck his flag, and on the 1st of January, 1844, left the city and went on board the frigate *La Gloire*.

On the 10th of April of this year, Admiral Lainé gave notice that he would allow the Montevidean government twenty-four hours in which to dismiss the French legion, and promise not to permit them to resume their arms ; but that body immediately assembled, stacked their arms, and proclaimed that they laid them down as Frenchmen, and would

take them up as Orientals, which they considered themselves from that time to be. The French Admiral made no further efforts to induce the French legion to withdraw ; but the French neutrals protested against being included in the act of expatriation, and appealed to their king.

Towards the close of June, Commodore Purvis was superseded by Sir Thomas Paisley, and he left the Rio de la Plata, after he had done all that his professed neutrality would permit to support the Montevideans and embarrass the operations of Oribe. It was mainly through the obstacles thrown in the way by him, that the partial blockade could never be made effective by the Argentine squadron. The same policy was followed by his successor, and the French Admiral followed their example. The American ships of war on that station rigidly observed the blockade, except in one instance, when the captain of one of our frigates followed the example of the English and French commanders, in refusing to submit to it. This act was afterwards noticed with strong disapprobation by the head of the naval department at Washington.

In July, General Paz, seeing that he could accomplish nothing within the city, left Montevideo for Rio Janeiro, with the intention of proceeding to Corrientes and renewing the war in that quarter. The Imperial government professed neutrality ; and yet he sailed in a Brazilian vessel, and marched across the Brazilian province of Rio Grande with drums beating and colors flying, without interference or obstruction from the Brazilian authorities. In September, the troops for this expedition were gathered, armed, and formed into regiments in the territory of Brazil, and thence, to the number of two thousand, passed into the Argentine territory, to renew the war and spread destruction over the province of Corrientes.

Towards the close of this year, the Viscount de Abrantes was sent by the Brazilian government, ostensibly on a commercial mission to the European powers, but in reality to solicit the armed intervention of England and France ; he represented that the continuance of the war on the banks of the Plata was extremely injurious to the interests of all mercantile communities. The memoranda presented by him to these powers have been severely criticized, and his opponents do

not scruple to charge the Brazilian government with hypocrisy, deceit, and enmity towards the Argentine government. According to the statement of Guizot, made in the French Chamber of Deputies, this mission of the Viscount de Abrantes was the principal cause of the governments of France and England resolving to interfere in the war. This same minister, however, in a speech delivered in the French Chambers May 28th, 1844, characterized the agitators in Montevideo as "a handful of turbulent Frenchmen, who, to promote their own interests, were willing to involve their country in new difficulties."

On the 16th of January, 1845, a strict blockade of Montevideo and Maldonado was proclaimed by the Argentine government; but the French Admiral Lainé, the English Admiral Inglefield, and the Brazilian commander refused to acknowledge it, leaving Rosas no alternative but to protest against so gross a violation of the rights of a sovereign and independent power, and to decree that no vessel, having touched at Montevideo, should be admitted to the ports of the Confederation. A similar proclamation was also issued by Oribe, in relation to the ports of Uruguay.

At this juncture, Rivera, who had undertaken an expedition into the interior of the Oriental territory, was met by an opposing force and defeated, and sought refuge in Brazil. Montevideo was the only place remaining in the hands of his partisans, and the prospects were most favorable for the speedy success of Oribe. The agent of France now expressed a willingness to acknowledge the blockade; but Mr. Turner, the English Chargé d'Affaires, demanded an exemption for vessels coming from beyond sea. Rosas refused to grant this demand. On the 11th of April, Mr. Brent, United States Chargé d'Affaires, tendered his mediation between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, which was accepted by the government of the former.

Thus matters stood, when Mr. Ousely, minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain, made his appearance at Buenos Ayres, professedly on a mission of mediation and peace. He was courteously received by the government, and a conference was commenced, on the 10th of May, 1845, between him and Senor Felipe Arana, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He condemned the conduct of the Admirals, expressed him-

self in favor of having the blockade of Montevideo acknowledged, disclaimed all idea of a forcible intervention in the affairs of the Plata, and made every effort to forestall France in the mediation, and to settle the terms before the arrival of her plenipotentiary ; so that the pacification might appear to have been effected solely through the agency of the British government. Mr. Brent was invited to participate in the conferences, and on the 2d of June, an agreement was made, the basis of which was the unconditional recognition of the blockade of Montevideo, the acknowledgment of Oribe as the constitutional President, and a general amnesty and the removal of the Argentine land and naval forces, as soon as Oribe should consent. These articles were not written, as Mr. Ousely stated that he would present them to the French minister on his arrival, and they could then be put into proper form. Baron Deffaudis arrived, and began his part of the negotiation by refusing to act with Mr. Brent as a mediator, or to accede to the terms agreed upon at the conferences held previous to his arrival. The British minister now changed his policy, and sustained the demands of the French envoy. Mr. Brent, in a note addressed to the Foreign Minister, virtually withdrew his mediation, and thus freed the affair from embarrassment, so far as he was concerned.

But the two parties could come to no agreement. The ministers insisted on a suspension of hostilities by the Argentine government, while Rosas would listen to no propositions that were not prefaced with a full acknowledgment of the absolute blockade of Montevideo and Maldonado. After some further unsuccessful negotiation, the ministers demanded and received their passports on the 30th of July, and left Buenos Ayres for Montevideo. Rosas immediately ordered Commodore Brown to withdraw the Argentine squadron from Montevideo to Buenos Ayres ; but, on the 2d of August, 1845, while in the act of weighing anchor, he was fired on by the English and French fleets, and compelled to surrender his ships to a superior force. Admirals Lainé and Inglefield then declared the ports of Uruguay which were occupied by Buenos Ayrean troops blockaded, assigned two vessels of the captured fleet to Garibaldi, the commander of the naval forces of Montevideo, and sent an expedition to take and occupy the principal towns on the coast.

The force organized for this expedition was composed of a few Spaniards, the disposable Anglo-French force, and the greater part of what was called the "Italian Legion;" in reference to which, it is significantly stated, that during its absence, the number of robberies in the city perceptibly diminished. This force proceeded up the river, and occupied Colonia del Sacramento without resistance, as it had already been abandoned. The Anglo-French forces began to repair the fortifications, while their Italian allies were occupied in sacking houses, breaking open stores, and giving other similar evidences of disinterested mediation. A small garrison was left at Colonia, and the remainder of the force, after making a demonstration for some distance up the river, and being warmly received with cannon shot, returned to Montevideo. The effect of this expedition was unfavorable to the Anglo-French cause, and numbers of the people took up arms in favor of Oribe. Still, the Argentine government scrupulously regarded the rights of French and English subjects within its territory, though it forbade all communication with the sea. The two plenipotentiaries then, on the 18th of September, 1845, declared a blockade of the ports of the province of Buenos Ayres, allowing fifteen days for the departure of neutral vessels.

Let us now pause a moment, and consider the position of the different parties, and the aspect of affairs. We find Montevideo under the revolutionary government, with Rivera nominally at its head, though not within the city; — Oribe, the legal President, who had some time before been compelled to resign his office and leave the country, returned with a force consisting of his own political adherents and of Argentine troops, master of nearly the whole country and besieging Montevideo; — Rosas assuming it to be his duty to aid in restoring the legal government to power, and to put an end to the exactions of the usurping Riveristas; — the English and French ministers, under pretence of mediation, authorizing acts of aggression and hostility; and thus England and France, standing in the attitude of pacificators with armed hands, rendering aid to Montevideo, and threatening Oribe and Rosas with the weight of their united opposition.

We are too far from the scene of action, and too scantily provided with data, to be able to read in full the motives

which urged on the different actors in this national tragedy of factions and cliques; yet it may not be out of place to indulge in a brief speculation as to the objects of the parties so strangely embroiled in a contest, the causes and aims of which are to this day an enigma to men of the highest intelligence in this country, and even in England and France.

It may be conceded that Oribe, in his invasion of Uruguay, believed that he might justly attempt to overthrow a faction, and recover an office from which he had been forcibly driven. To Rosas may be allowed the credit of acting with sincerity in his support of Oribe, believing himself justified by the aggressions of Rivera's party, bound as an ally to sustain the legal government, and pledged by his participation in the treaty of 1828 with Brazil, to aid in preserving the independence of the country. With these might have been mingled other considerations. Montevideo may be regarded as the rival of Buenos Ayres, and from the advantages of its position would naturally be regarded with a jealous eye. Its territory is bounded for several hundred miles on the north by the Argentine Missiones, and on the west for an equal distance by the province of Entre Rios, from which it is separated by the Uruguay. It commands the whole of the Plata opposite to Buenos Ayres, and has the Atlantic on the east; thus possessing advantages for commerce decidedly superior to the latter city. Rosas, whose quick glance overlooks nothing that may tend to the advantage of his country, if he did not aim at reannexing Uruguay to the Confederation, after the fashion of our own model republic of the north, at least saw powerful inducements to place its government in the hands of an active and obliged friend, and strong reasons for obtaining as much influence as possible in the councils of the state. This accomplished, he might break up the stronghold and asylum of his own personal and political foes, crush the growing influence of an enterprising foreign population in the city, and thus virtually command both banks of the Plata, and secure the superiority of Buenos Ayres.

The population in the interior of Uruguay was probably favorable to Oribe, but in the city of Montevideo he was unpopular. With the French and foreign residents, his unpopularity arose from his refusal to aid in the original movement against Rosas, and from the apprehension that his return

would lead to measures which would be unfavorable to trade. Another class disliked him because he had guarded the public treasury against their peculations; while many of the native citizens feared the friend and associate of Rosas, who should return at the head of an Argentine army. The Montevideans knew that their city was the rival of Buenos Ayres; they believed, if her trade came directly or indirectly under the control of the latter, that it would be crippled, if not destroyed; and they therefore resisted the restoration of a man to office, whom they regarded as the deferential friend of the governor of the very city whose prosperity might be built up at the expense of their own.

There was yet another class, whose interest it was to sustain the existing government and prevent the return of Oribe. This was composed of the speculators, mostly English, who had made advances from time to time to the Montevidean government, secured by pledges of the public property and custom-house receipts. It was their interest to preserve the existing order of things, and to foment and prolong hostilities between England and France and the Argentine Republic; for the blockade of Buenos Ayres turned the trade to Montevideo, and increased the revenues of the customs.

Thus much for the position and motives of those immediately interested in the quarrel between Oribe and his party, backed by the Argentine republic, on the one hand, and the Riveristas or Montevideans, with their legion of foreigners, principally Frenchmen, on the other. But how happens it that we find the two principal powers of Europe busily engaged in this political turmoil, their land and naval forces enlisted in the contest between two independent states of the western continent, and their energies directed towards humbling the power and destroying the trade of the one, at the same time that they were lending aid to sustain a revolutionary government in the other? Fully to answer this question would require a more extended discussion of the subject than we can give. We can only glance at some of the motives which may have induced these great powers to take part in the war, and commit acts against which the representatives of other states have protested, as in contravention of the law of nations and the rights of an independent people.

The request for the intervention was first made by the

French residents at Montevideo, and remained long unanswered. The public agents of France seemed at first to strive in good faith to hold their countrymen aloof from the struggle, and to let the natives fight it out ; but the French in Montevideo had become so much attached to the city of their adoption, and their interests were so strongly favored by the Riverista party, that they went in a body over to that side, and armed for the defence of the city. It then became difficult for the French diplomatic agents to look on unmoved ; and almost before they were aware of their equivocal position, they found themselves compromised in the contest. Another view is, that Brazil had formerly claimed Uruguay ; that a prince of France had married into the royal family of Brazil ; and that the citizen king had his designs in reference to that extensive country, and even kept his eye upon the disturbed republic on its southern border. A third, and not the least plausible suggestion, is, that jealousy of England and a fear lest she might, if left to act alone, gain an undue influence in the affairs of the river, prompted France to join in the so-called mediation. Certain it is, that, whatever might have been the first impulse, she afterwards acted from other motives than sympathy for her subjects, or a desire to vindicate the rights and independence of Uruguay.

As for England, she is notoriously watchful for any opening by which her trade and influence may be introduced into a new region, and, at the same time, jealous of any attempt on the part of another power to gain or monopolize the trade of untried countries. One of the acknowledged motives for her offer of mediation in 1828 was, that the market for her fabrics was seriously affected by the war. At the time of which we are now speaking, besides the desire of forestalling her Gallic neighbor, she had undoubtedly as strong a motive for interfering as on the former occasion. The market for her manufactures was much affected ; for while Paraguay, opened at last to foreign intercourse by the death of Francia, appeared in the distance as an inviting market, the expiration of England's commercial treaty with Brazil threatened seriously to diminish the trade with that country, except so far as her fabrics might find their way into it from Uruguay and Paraguay. But Rosas claimed Paraguay as one of the Argentine states, and would not allow the English to navigate

the Parana, which flows through the Argentine territory from Paraguay, except under certain restrictions imposed by the laws of the Confederation ; while Oribe was too good a friend to the Dictator to allow them any hope that he would adopt a different policy.

As for Rosas, one might as well hope to move the pyramids as to shake his adherence to the positions he had once taken, and the principles of political action by which he professed to be guided. Probably both the English and French were not without hopes, that their joint intervention would result in the final overthrow of the Dictator, and the induction into power of those who would be pliant tools in the hands of European agents, or at all events, would enable them to dictate terms of pacification favorable to their commercial aggrandizement.

We have thus presented, so far as we could infer them from the acts and position of the parties, some of the motives which prompted England and France forcibly to interfere in the contest between Montevideo and the Argentine Confederation. It is but justice to place by the side of these inferences the public professions of these powers, as made by their official agents.

Those ministers of peace, Ousely and Deffaudis, after demanding their passports at Buenos Ayres, proceeded to Montevideo. Here the fruits of their pacificating policy were seen in the seizure of the Argentine squadron and other acts of direct hostility, against which, as we have already observed, the Argentine government adopted defensive measures. The ministers then issued a declaration of blockade against Buenos Ayres, which amounted in fact to a declaration of war. In this extraordinary document, they first recite the motives and grounds for their interference, and then put forward their reasons for laying aside the garb and character of pacificators, and changing mediation into open war.

At the first step of this investigation, we meet with an anomaly in national and diplomatic intercourse that is worthy of notice. These mediators thrust themselves between the high contending parties unasked and unwelcome, at least so far as one side is concerned ; and their sincerity is attested by an immediate and prolonged appeal to the sword.

But they attempt to justify their interference by the treaties

made in 1828 and 1840, in both of which the independence of Uruguay is guaranteed ; Great Britain claiming a right to interfere from her connection with the former, and France as a party to the latter. A second reason given for the interference is, the cruelties that have attended the war and which have shocked all Europe ; and a third, that the interests of commerce are suffering, and that trade could be restored to a flourishing state only by the reestablishment of peace.

The phraseology of the ministers, in that part of their manifesto which appeals to their connection with past treaties, is conveniently indefinite. They claim to have been concerned in them "directly or indirectly." The truth is, that in the convention of 1828, Great Britain acted as mediator. The tenth article of the treaty binds the contracting powers to protect and sustain the government of Uruguay for five years. But Great Britain was not one of the contracting powers ; and Lord Ponsonby, the representative of Great Britain in the affair, when questioned upon the subject, replied that he was not authorized to guaranty either a preliminary convention, or a treaty of peace. This settles conclusively the extent to which Great Britain can justify her proceedings as a party to the intervention ; for with the treaty of 1840 she does not even pretend to have had any connection.

France, on the other hand, took no part in the treaty of 1828 ; but bases her right to interfere on the terms of the treaty concluded between her and the Argentine Confederation, on the settlement of their difficulties in 1840. In this treaty, the government of the republic pledges itself to consider Uruguay as in a state of absolute independence, without prejudice, however, to its own natural rights. The Argentine government justifies its present course by detailing the hostile aggressions it has suffered, and by showing that it extends aid to the legal president of Uruguay, to suppress a rebellion raised by a faction, and sustained by refugees from the Confederation as well as by the arms and money of foreigners in Montevideo ; and finally asserts, that it is for the government of Uruguay, and not for another, and least of all for a European government, to say when this aid shall cease. Yet France required, as a preliminary step, the withdrawal of the Argentine forces, and such treatment of Oribe as would have

involved, at the very threshold of the negotiations, an acknowledgment of wrong on the part of the republic. If Oribe was the legal President, the aid of the Confederation to reëstablish his power, instead of threatening the independence of Uruguay, was clearly and positively in support of it.

Furthermore, the good faith and disinterestedness of Rosas are proved by his conduct in reference to the proposed treaty of March, 1843, with Brazil. In this affair, he preferred to sacrifice the prospect of a most advantageous settlement of all disputes, rather than recognize a principle of interference by which the rights of Uruguay and the dignity of its government would be set at nought. It was proposed to make stipulations relative to the Oriental territory, without the presence of any representative from that state as a party to the negotiation; but Rosas refused to ratify the treaty, unless General Oribe, as President of Uruguay, was allowed to concur in its stipulations. The Brazilian government, although in the treaty alluded to it was ready to stigmatize Rivera as an enemy of the empire and of the two republics of the Plata, immediately on learning this refusal, went over to the side of the opponents of Rosas, refused to acknowledge the Argentine blockade of Montevideo, and allowed assemblages of troops hostile to Uruguay to be formed in its territories.

But who constituted the legal government in Uruguay? Oribe was the last regularly elected president, and left his office and his country by compulsion, and with open protest against the means employed to drive him from his post. Rivera, the rival claimant, at the time of the intervention had been several times defeated, and had taken refuge in Brazil. Oribe was acting in concert with the regularly constituted legislature, assembled at Miguelete, which authorized the presence of Argentine troops in the camp and sanctioned his acts. He was in possession of the whole country, with the exception of Montevideo, which was with difficulty held by the opposing party, sustained by Argentine exiles and a large force of foreigners, principally French. Can any one doubt on which side lay the presumption of legality? If the Argentine state had no right to interfere *in favor* of Oribe with his positive claims to the government, surely, for a still stronger reason, France had no right to interfere *against* him, or in

favor of the weak and revolutionary government that was on the verge of destruction in Montevideo.

To the plea that intervention was made necessary and justifiable by the cruelties practised by the combatants, and by the interruptions to commerce caused by the continuance of the war, it may be briefly replied, that war is acknowledged to be an evil, and to bring in its train suffering and death in various repulsive forms. But has the intervention put an end to these terrible scenes, so revolting to the delicate sensibilities of refined Europe? If half of what is told be true, the cruelties of the wars between the states fall far below those of which the armed foreigners and their allies have been guilty. And as to commerce, the blockade of Buenos Ayres and the acts of the Anglo-French forces have done ten times as much harm to trade as was caused by the Argentine blockade of Montevideo.

And this doctrine of interference, because a war interrupts the commerce of nations, — would either France or England dare to maintain it against a power capable of discussing the question with any approach to equality at the cannon's mouth? Why did they not interfere with our war with Mexico, if not on the plea of cruelties committed, at least on the ground of commerce interrupted? Because they durst not; because they knew that such claims put forth in reference to the United States would be instantly repelled at the hazard of war. But this poor South American republic was, in their estimation, too weak to resist an attack on its sovereignty and rights; and therefore it must not make war at its own time and after its own fashion, under pain of the displeasure of these European dictators. Yet this despised republic has resisted, and it still exists, and still adheres to all that it has ever claimed.

The professed object of the intervention was the independence of the state of Uruguay; and upon this point mainly did the reclamations of Messrs. Ousely and Deffaudis rest. But after September, 1845, the views of the mediators were suddenly expanded. Their benevolent attention was attracted towards the Parana river; and, as they had begun their grand essay in modern knight-errantry by starting on an expedition for the relief of suffering republics, they very naturally turned to the kindred labor of vindicating the right

of nations to the interior navigation of that river. They volunteered to open to Paraguay, and the other provinces on the head waters of the Parana, its free navigation, without reference to the will or the rights of the Argentine republic, a sovereign state, through whose territories its waters flowed to the sea.

Should the Yankees in Maine assert their right, as dwellers on the upper waters of the St. John's, to a free navigation, without treaty stipulations, through the British province of New Brunswick to the Bay of Fundy, and should some justice-loving nation of Europe, in view of the inability of those border settlers to vindicate their claims, volunteer by force of arms to open that stream to their trade, is it probable that England would quietly yield to the interference, and tamely receive a practical lesson in international law from her philanthropic neighbor? Or, to push the question nearer home, — suppose one of the German states, through whose territories flow the head waters of the Rhine or the Elbe, should demand the unrestricted navigation of those rivers through the intervening states to the sea, and either England or France should send up a fleet to aid this pretension by force, how long would the peace of Europe remain undisturbed?

The first step in the enterprise was the seizure of San Martin Garcia, an island in the river Plata, which commands the mouths of the Parana and Uruguay, and is of considerable importance as a military post. Announcement was then made, that an expedition up the river Parana would be organized for commercial objects, against which Rosas protested; and in November, 1845, a fleet of one hundred and ten merchant vessels of different nations were ready to avail themselves of the convoy of English and French ships of war in their passage up the river. On the 20th of November, after an action of eight hours, in which they brought one hundred and thirteen pieces of cannon to bear against twenty-five belonging to the Argentines, they forced their way by a point called Vuelta de Obligado, with a considerable loss of men and officers. Continuing their course, constantly annoyed by the batteries planted on commanding positions, after a harassing passage of several months, they arrived at Corrientes, a town near the junction of the Parana and Paraguay, only to find the province occupied by the army of the Argentine gen-

eral, Urquiza. The merchant vessels generally made but little profits by their long and perilous expedition.

On their way down, they had again to run the gauntlet of the Argentine batteries. When they approached the forts of San Lorenzo, many of the vessels were exposed to a heavy plunging fire for more than an hour, and scarcely one escaped injury. They were also followed down the stream by field artillery, while bodies of troops lined the banks and gave them volleys of musketry as they passed. One English bark and two Montevidean vessels grounded opposite the batteries, and were burned to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. In the early part of June, the convoy arrived at Montevideo; and so ended the memorable Anglo-French belligerent-commercial expedition up the Parana.

The question, what was accomplished by this expedition, must be answered by the British, or rather by the French, minister; since a monarch of his nation, we are told, once accomplished a similar and equally successful feat.

"The king of France, with thirty thousand men,
Marched up a hill, and then—marched down again!"

If they went up for trade, they got but little; if for profit, less; if to assist Paraguay, she has derived but little benefit from their aid; if to open the navigation of the Parana, there are but few indications of their success; and if those who come afterwards to avail themselves of the great public good thus accomplished, find this freedom of navigation is to be saddled with a heavy impost of cannon balls, they will be likely to decline the privilege of navigating the Parana under Anglo-French auspices, and to seek an honest trade in waters where there is a reasonable chance of keeping their vessels afloat and their heads on their own shoulders. Seriously, of all the follies and crimes engendered by the Anglo-French intervention, this expedition up the Parana is one of the most glaring.

About the time of the return of the expedition from the Parana, Rivera, having obtained passports from the government of Brazil, proceeded in a Spanish corvette to Montevideo; but to his great surprise, he found not only the parties in power, but the English and French ministers, were opposed to his admission into the city, so that he was shut out from

his own stronghold. As soon as this fact became known, the soldiers rose in open revolt. The captain of the port and several officers were killed; the acting President and other civil officers took refuge with the English minister; the Minister of Foreign Affairs resigned; and the Minister of War, with Pacheco y Obes, late commander-in-chief, escaped on board a vessel in the harbor. In the night after these scenes of confusion and bloodshed, Rivera landed and assumed the command; and thus "Richard was himself again." This wheel within a wheel, or revolution within a revolution, rather staggered the faith of the mediators, and somewhat diminished the warmth of their sympathy. Unfortunately, their national pride had become enlisted in the affair, and interested motives tended to postpone the moment of conciliation.

In July, 1846, however, Mr. Hood arrived at Buenos Ayres, on a special mission from the governments of Great Britain and France, with propositions for the complete pacification of the Pláta. The principle articles proposed by him and accepted by the Argentine government had reference to a suspension of hostilities between the Oriental forces in Montevideo and those in the country; to the raising of the blockade at the same time with the suspension of hostilities; to the disarming of the foreigners in garrison at Montevideo and those out of the city; and to the withdrawal of the Argentine troops in case General Oribe should consent. Having concluded his arrangements with the Argentine government, Mr. Hood proceeded to Uruguay, to treat with Oribe. After he had agreed with him in regard to all that concerned the state of Uruguay, he proceeded to deliver the acceptances of the two parties to the British and French ministers then residing in Montevideo, that they might arrange at once the proposed convention. But Baron Deffaudis, alleging the want of instructions from his government, refused to act, and Mr. Hood returned to England. Shortly after his arrival in England, Mr. Ousely was withdrawn from his mission, and Baron Deffaudis was recalled to France accompanied by Rear-Admiral Lainé.

The year 1847 opened with a short and severe contest between General Ignacio Oribe, brother of the ex-President, and the forces of Rivera, who by the aid of his foreign allies had succeeded in gaining possession of several towns. In

this campaign, the cavalry which the latter had kept on the coast south of the Rio Negro, under the protection of the English and French marine, was almost entirely annihilated ; the towns of Salto and Paysandu were retaken ; and finally Rivera himself was defeated, with the loss of one hundred men and all his horses and cattle. In twenty-seven days from the commencement of the campaign, the victorious commander announced that it had been closed by the defeat of Rivera, the dispersion of his followers, and the recovery of the whole territory of Uruguay, except Colonia and Montevideo.

In May of this year, Lord Howden and Count Walewski arrived at Buenos Ayres, severally deputed by the English and French governments to negotiate a definitive arrangement on the bases offered by Mr. Hood for the cessation of hostilities. Both parties seem to have commenced the negotiations with a sincere desire to come to an agreement ; for the two parties consented to concede the demand of Generals Rosas and Oribe, that the blockade should be raised on both banks of the Plata simultaneously with the armistice and the cessation of hostilities. But besides differing on other points, there were three circumstances which proved fatal to the success of the mission. The first was a refusal on the part of the Argentine government to allow Don Joachim Suarez, provisional president of Montevideo, to be recognized as a party to the treaty ; the second was the refusal of the English and French governments to accord to Oribe the title of legal president of Uruguay, while the Argentine government steadily declined to accept any article, which, even by implication, should question his right to that office and title ; the third difficulty arose from the phraseology of an article relating to the navigation of the rivers of the republic, which was rejected at once, as failing to recognize with sufficient distinctness the right of the Argentine government to regulate its own interior navigation.

There is something ludicrous in the manner in which the article on the navigation of the Parana was urged by the foreign ministers. They gravely insisted, that it had been very carefully drawn up, after consultation with the most eminent jurists and statesmen of Europe ; and therefore, it ought to be presumed by those uninformed South Americans

to express the true law of nations on the subject. Henry VIII. beating up for theological recruits among the universities of Europe, to obtain opinions upon the illegality of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, affords a counterpart to the course of these modern sovereigns, stirring up the doctors of the law in the same institutions to declare, for the enlightenment of the benighted Argentine republic, the true doctrine in reference to the navigation of her rivers.

Late in June, the negotiation was broken off, and the ministers very soon sailed for their respective countries. Immediately before their departure, Mr. Harris, our Chargé d'Affaires, addressed a letter to them, declaring that the blockade had only brought evil upon the people and expense and loss to those who maintained it; that the intervention was contrary to the principles and practice of the government of the United States, and regarded by it as illegal; but its policy being not to interfere with other powers, it had acquiesced in the proceedings of the former English and French ministers, though not without a protest; that the long continuance of the blockade gave color to the idea that it was enforced for political objects; that the government of the United States would never sanction the establishment by a European government of any colonies as political communities in any of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata; and he concluded by protesting against the further continuance of the blockade. Both ministers addressed courteous replies to Mr. Harris, declining to discuss the legality of their proceedings, but protesting against the idea that they had ever harbored a thought unfavorable to the perfect independence of Uruguay and the Argentine Confederation.

It is worthy of note, in regard to this blockade of Buenos Ayres, that it was generally maintained by two ships of war; a force amply sufficient so far as vessels from beyond sea were concerned, but totally ineffective in regard to the small craft, which, under cover of the night, came in fleets from Montevideo, and carried on a profitable trade with the shore. Mr. Harris, in his note to Lord Howden, states, that from February, 1846, to May, 1847, the number of vessels that entered and sailed from Buenos Ayres was four thousand and twelve. It is true, these were chiefly small vessels, passing in and out at night; but a number of them also passed in

open day, and in full view of the blockading force, without any serious attempt being made to stop them. These vessels all paid duties at Montevideo on the merchandise or produce which they carried.

On their way home, Lord Howden and Baron Walewski stopped at Montevideo, and proposed an armistice to General Oribe, which he at once accepted. The government of Montevideo, however, refused; and in consequence, the plenipotentiary of England ordered the blockade to be raised by the naval forces of his country, and closed all intercourse on the part of his government. In his instructions to the naval commander, Sir Thomas Herbert, he says, "The government of Montevideo has refused the armistice, although without money, credit, or native troops; the Orientals are not free agents, being entirely controlled by a foreign garrison; and the blockade, having lost its character of a coercive measure against Rosas, has become exclusively a means of supplying with money, partly the government of Montevideo, and partly certain foreign individuals there, to the detriment of the commerce of England in these waters."

The French minister, on the contrary, pursued such a course as was to be expected from one whose countrymen in Montevideo were prominently interested in prolonging the struggle. A circular was addressed by the French Chargé d'Affaires and M. Devaize, Consul-general of France, to the foreign consular agents in Montevideo, declaring that the French squadron would continue the blockade of the province of Buenos Ayres and the ports of Uruguay occupied by Argentine troops. Thus the French agents, in the face of the reasons assigned by Lord Howden for raising the blockade on the part of the English, persevered in the odious and oppressive policy so long and so ineffectively pursued by the two governments. The diplomatic agent of the United States again protested against a blockade continued under circumstances so flagrantly unjust.

The course of the British ambassador caused the greatest excitement and alarm in Montevideo. A part of the garrison turned their guns against the government, and demanded an explanation, which those in authority were unable or unwilling to give. Finally, even the Orientals themselves in the city, weary of the war and the assumptions of their foreign allies,

and despairing of success, proposed an accommodation with Oribe. A petition to this end was presented to the government; but it was rejected, and the principal movers in the affair suffered some persecution for their attempt to restore peace. The French admiral, Predour, is said to have taken an active share in quelling the disturbances, and thus obstructed the natives in their endeavors to effect a settlement of the contest.

Thus upheld by the representatives of the French government, the city of Montevideo was enabled to resist the efforts of Oribe; and nearly a year passed in a contest of "masterly inactivity" on both sides. A new spirit of exertion, however, had just sprung up, and the French admiral had determined to make a final effort by a more stringent blockade, when the overwhelming intelligence came, that the king, his master, by whose orders these aggressions had been commenced, was himself driven from his throne, and had become a fugitive from the land he had misgoverned. The Provisional Government of France soon manifested its intention of adopting a different policy. On the 18th of June, 1848, a notification appeared from the French Consul-general, raising the blockade of Buenos Ayres, but continuing that of the ports of Uruguay occupied by Oribe's forces. On the same day, the French vessel of war off the city sent an officer on shore to announce the discontinuance of the blockade, and the departure of the ship without delay for Montevideo; and thus quietly France made her exit. An English officer also went on shore with despatches, expressing, it is said, the expectation of England that the Argentine government would observe the treaty of 1825 with her, and of 1828 with Brazil. And so ended the grand national drama of the Anglo-French intervention.

And what have these two nations gained for themselves, or accomplished for commerce or humanity, by their intervention? After three years of trial, they retire from their professed labors in the cause of peace with the consciousness of having greatly increased the horrors of war, and of leaving the combatants still in the attitude and act of hostility; after blockading Buenos Ayres for nine hundred and ninety-nine days, they withdraw their ships, knowing that they have destroyed their own trade as well as that of other nations. And where are the unfortunate leaders, against whom the

combined strength of the two most powerful nations on the globe was directed? Neither of them is overthrown; both are nearer to the political objects they had in view than when this far-famed intervention was commenced. Rosas still rules the Argentine republic with dictatorial power; Oribe is within one step of restoration to the presidency of Uruguay, unless Brazil or the foreign powers use direct force to prevent it; while Montevideo needs all the aid it can get from abroad to prevent it from falling at once into the hands of its besiegers.

Rosas has not abated one tittle of the claims which he put forward at the commencement of the struggle. On the contrary, he presents a bolder front, and requires more decided concessions than before. He has refused to receive Mr. Hood, who was sent out by the English government as Consul-general; he has prohibited all intercourse with the English and French squadrons, except the embarkation of provisions for the former, on the ground that the blockade of the ports of Uruguay occupied by Oribe is still continued by the French, and that the raising of the blockade of Buenos Ayres has been so effected as to make no reparation for the grievous injuries inflicted by it; and finally, he has demanded a full indemnity for the losses sustained through the intervention, before he will consent to negotiate or allow any intercourse with the offending nations.

This extraordinary result is mainly due to the firmness and the ability of the head of the Argentine Confederation. Rosas is no ordinary man. Acuteness, quick perception, strong passions, deeply rooted prejudices, a contempt for mere show, and indomitable energy, are decided traits in his character. He first engaged in public affairs in a quiet, unobtrusive manner, and became essential to the existence of the state before those who deemed themselves its masters were aware of his presence as a leading spirit; he saw at once the stern and decided measures which were necessary to save the country from anarchy, and to establish himself firmly in power, and he embraced them without hesitation; he found a strong party opposed to his political principles, and striving by conspiracy to destroy their opponents, and he swept them from his way by every means which hatred could devise; he consented, after repeated solicitations, to accept the chief magistracy, with dictatorial power; and he has shown, since his induction

into that office, his abilities and resources in modes so energetic and terrible, that the factious have shrunk from further contest with him and yielded to his sway.

The accounts given of General Rosas are so contradictory, that it is not easy for one at a distance to form a fair estimate of his character. His administration is represented to be strict, severely honest, and unswervingly patriotic. All officials are held to a rigid accountability, and the Dictator himself renders an exact statement of all his acts and expenditures to the House of Representatives. The financial operations are conducted in the most open manner. Daily publication is made of the amount received into the public treasury, and the sums paid out, showing also on what account they were received and for what expended. The finances, notwithstanding the great difficulties arising from the interruption of trade, have been administered with strict economy and without any augmentation of duties. The extraordinary expenses have been met principally by large issues of treasury bills; and some idea may be formed of the state to which the intervention has brought the public treasury, from the fact that the estimate of government expenses for the year 1847 amounts to \$58,720,000, while the receipts from all sources are placed at about \$15,500,000; thus leaving a deficit for that year of \$43,250,000. Large as is this amount, the legislature pledged themselves to use the most active means to raise it, even to the extent of contributing their private fortunes, rather than cease their resistance to the foreign powers. Rosas declares, in his message delivered at the close of 1846, that the laws have been administered with promptness and impartiality. Only three persons were executed for capital crimes during that year, and but one of these was a native. Foreigners were allowed to remain in the city and provinces unmolested, and even the English and French, who remained neutral, suffered during the intervention no interference and no persecution.*

* We have before us the message of Rosas to the House of Representatives of the Confederation, dated December 27th, 1848; some points in it are worthy of notice.

He congratulates the House on the firmness and success with which they had thus far resisted the intervention of the foreign powers. The difficulties with these powers were not yet adjusted, though with England they appear more easy of settlement than with France. England had sent a consul to Buenos Ayres, but

A writer in the London Morning Chronicle of February, 1847, asserts that the intervention was brought about by the most extravagant stories of the cruelties of Rosas, of his hatred to foreigners, his disinclination to form commercial relations with them, and the readiness of the people of Buenos Ayres to expel him the moment an armed demonstration was made. Agents were sent to England, who made a tour of the country, got up petitions to Parliament, and finally induced Lord Aberdeen to interfere. All this was done by parties who had advanced money to the intrusive government of Montevideo, and who knew that, if they could only shut up the port of Buenos Ayres, and confine the trade of the river to Montevideo, they must realize immense profits on their speculation. Hence their efforts to excite the British government against Rosas, and the wholesale slanders of him indus-

the government refused to receive him until reparation was made for the injuries suffered from the blockade. Then Mr. Henry Southern came out as Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain, and was not received for the same reason. Rosas offered to treat with him on the basis of the Hood articles, with such modifications as the change of circumstances might render proper; but he had no powers, and therefore retired.

Hon. Robert Gore and Baron Gros also came, after the failure of the mission of Lord Howden and Baron Walewski; but their propositions were rejected by the Argentine government, as inconsistent with its own rights and those of its ally, Don Manuel Oribe, the legal president of the Oriental Republic.

Chili and the Argentine Republic both claim the islands and territory along the coast of Patagonia, and they had had some negotiations on the subject.

Movements against the government had been made at Mendoza, San Luis, and Rioja; but they were crushed, and the leaders had been shot. The Jesuits had been ordered to leave several of the provinces, and the government evidently intends to drive them from the country.

Austria, under the influence of Brazil, had recognized the independence of Paraguay, against which act Rosas had protested. Paraguay had seized the island of Arispe, in the Parana, and other places, though the Argentine government insisted upon its right to possess them.

The Governor has induced the Archbishop to decree the suppression of the greater part of the religious holidays. This is certainly a grave and important step, and a great reform for a Catholic country. Its effects upon the morals, industry, and productive results of the labor of the people will be immense. It argues not only great power, but a far-reaching view and true policy on the part of Rosas.

It is proposed to improve the public roads, and facilitate communication between the capital and the interior. Benevolent institutions have been organized, and some troops have been disbanded. All this looks like turning from war to peace.

As to the treasury, Rosas regrets that the government had been obliged to stop the monthly payment of \$5,000 on account of the English debt; but for this, the English may thank themselves and their blockade. He thinks the payment might be resumed in January, 1849, now that the blockade has been taken off. The total expenses of the government for 1848, in current (paper) money, were \$56,929,576. The estimated expenses for 1849 were \$64,088,270; estimated receipts, \$64,382,163.

The Governor concludes with his usual pathetic appeal to the House, to be allowed to retire from the toils and responsibilities of office to the tranquillity of private life. This is excellent foolery; probably he would cut off the head of the first representative who should have the temerity to propose an assent to this earnest petition.

triously circulated among the people. So with other charges made against him ; they have come from his enemies. Many of them originated in a journal published at Montevideo, edited by a man who is politically and personally the mortal foe of the Dictator.

Still, we doubt not that Rosas has given cause for some of these accusations. The Spanish blood is easily heated, and both in old Spain and the states on this continent colonized by her, the victors have almost uniformly stained their success with blood. But Rosas has not always followed the example of his predecessors in this respect. He might have shot General Paz ; but he spared him, as he did others, who afterwards left the country to unite with his enemies. He may have been severe ; but we need more facts and more impartial witnesses, before we make up a final judgment in regard to his character.

Thus far, in his own territory, he has been successful, and it does not seem difficult to foresee the result of the movements with which he is connected in Uruguay. Oribe, with his aid, will regain his position at the head of affairs in that state ; and then it must depend upon the extent to which he and his party are willing to become subsidiary to Rosas, whether Uruguay becomes a mere appendage to the Argentine Confederation, or maintains her position as an independent republic. The future of the Argentine republic it is not difficult to read. As long as Rosas survives, there will be no change. He will rule the people with an iron hand, yet with an eye to the aggrandizement of the state, and perhaps to the gradual improvement of the people. But at his death, all the smothered elements of opposition and hatred to him and his principles will burst into a flame ; the Unitarian party will again gather strength and contend for preëminence ; and through terror and blood, the people of that beautiful yet unhappy region must work their way to free government, equal laws, and the enjoyment of prosperity and peace.